

The Characteristics of Indonesian Multicultural Movie Audiences in Post-1998: A Study of the Yogyakarta Movie Community

FILOSA GITA SUKMONO

Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Indonesia

ATWAR BAJARI

ENI MARYANI

HERLINA AGUSTIN

Universitas Padjajaran Bandung, Indonesia

ABSTRACT

The study aims to open further studies of the characteristics of Indonesian movie audiences towards national multicultural movies after 1998 or the fall of new order regime. It is motivated by an assumption that the shift in the system and atmosphere of democracy in Indonesia after 1998 affects Indonesian audiences' understanding of multicultural movies, which was perceived as a sensitive issue beforehand. Additionally, this study aims to grasp the Indonesian knowledge of the idea of multiculturalism. The study picked Yogyakarta movie communities as the research participant and applied focus group discussion as a method for data collection. Yogyakarta itself was preferred since it is one of the regions in Indonesia with distinctive movie literacy. The research shows three main characteristics of Indonesian audiences' post 1998, namely euphoric, open, and limited. Euphoric means local audiences are beginning to favor multicultural themes in their watching lists; open means that viewers are starting to accept various multicultural issues, primarily related to identities, and, finally, limited means audiences' references are mostly determined by theater schedules and insignificantly by alternative spaces. Although scope's intensification is necessary, the research is instructive enough to point out the unique changes in the culture of watching multicultural movies after 1998 in Indonesia.

Keywords: *Audience, Indonesia multicultural movies, multiculturalism, movie community, multicultural issues.*

INTRODUCTION

Cultural diversity in Indonesia is indubitable. The region spreading from Aceh to Papua shows that Indonesian diversity includes not only regions and provinces but also race, tribes, cultures, and religions. It motivated the Indonesian founding fathers to posit *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity) as the basis of the nation for keeping the people together and preventing them from being divided. *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* itself is a unifier, a multiculturalism vision, intending to enable the ethnic and or religious majorities to run their activities without giving pressure to the minorities.

Multicultural issues in Indonesia are problematic and not straightforward. As pointed out by Lan (2011), Wasino (2013), and Heryanto (2015) the process towards realizing Indonesian multiculturalism is complex and ample with political tensions, especially under the New Order regime. For more than 30 years, Soeharto's administration exposed the harmonious picture of Indonesian society while, at the same time, banning public discussion regarding Ethnic, Religion, Race, and Groups (SARA) and oppressing specific cultures, including Chinese (Tan, 1997), Islam (Mudhoffir, 2015), and Indigenous religions (Aryono,

2018). As a result, after the downfall of the regime, Indonesia faces a genuine national condition on interreligious and ethnic relations before the freedom of expression and regional autonomy. Deadly conflicts, such as in Ambon, Sampit, and Sampang, and an unsatisfying score of religion freedom (Wahid Institute, 2014) and tolerance (Setara Institute, 2018; Gerintya, 2018) are some of the regrettable impacts. Generally, those problems are not damaging yet for political stability, but this issue is seriously taken into consideration by the current administration.

In line with the problem, the complexity of Indonesian multicultural issues grows to be a magnet for the movie industry that often presents these issues as the central theme. After 1998, new movies with multicultural features have started to be produced. There are about 67 films with multicultural themes found from 1998 until 2015 (Sukmono, 2018a). Considering that multicultural movie was often censored, directed, and modified before 1998 (Heryanto, 2008b; Hanan, 2017) as the consequence of the single cultural understanding New Order uphold, it can be considered to be a remarkable trend. Movie creators seem to realize that apart from the probability that audiences living in multicultural society might be interested to see their multicultural reflection through movies; multiculturalism is an essential topic to bring up in a broader audience (Greene et al., 2014).

However, multicultural movie, and other media in general, is a double-edged sword because, despite the fact that it might dispense with the stereotypes and raise tolerance, it could also exacerbate some exaggeration prejudices, such as Indian is uncivilized, white is sly, and black is hating the police (Lee, 2016; Ramasubramanian, 2005; Usha Devi & De Rycker, 2018). In Indonesia, as demonstrated by Yutanti (2012), many popular sitcoms, instead of showing differences, flourished those caricatural and negative prejudices like Betawi is egoistic and Chinese is stingy. Therefore, while multicultural movies can hold a flashlight to raise awareness for embracing unity in diversity, at the same time, it may spark fire at national unity.

According to the Indonesian constitution, National Film Act Number 33 of 2009, a movie is a cultural artwork created through cinematography as part of cultural phenomena. Consequently, a movie is the results of a creative process by citizens who combine beauty, technological sophistication, value system, ideas, norms, and actions. As a cultural artwork that can be presented with or without sound, a movie is a mass communication media bringing influential ideas to the public (audience). Moreover, Preamble of the Articles of the Indonesian Association of Movie and Television explains that a movie, especially in cinema and television, should have noble functions, namely education, spreading impactful information, and revolution which can contribute in enticing national unity, fostering nation character building, and achieve a socialist society based on *Pancasila* (Imanjaya, 2006).

The development of Indonesian movie itself had grown since 1926 with *Loetoeng Kasaroeng* (Black Monkey in a *Sarong*) as the first movie produced, which subsequently has seen thousands of movies produced, to date. Although in its development there were several periods where the Indonesian movie industry experienced declines, for example between 1945 and 1947 and 1998 and 1999, where the number of products made was nil due to war and the emergence of reformation respectively, the upward trends are clear. Post-1998 is the turning point of Indonesian movies' development and marks the start of a productive era in Indonesian movie making. It is found that more than 1000 movies were created in post-1998.

The following table depicts data on the development of Indonesian movies:

Table 1: Number of movies from period to period (Kristanto, 2007, filmindonesia.or.id)

No	Period	Numbers of movie	Explanation
1	1926-1936	37	
2	1937-1947	66	1945-1947 no production
3	1948-1958	362	
4	1959-1969	201	
5	1970-1980	716	
6	1981-1991	851	
7	1992-2002	212	1998-1999 there were only 4 productions
8	2003-2013	766	In 2003 there were only 13 movies produced.
10	2014-2018	624	
	Total	3442	

In the rise of general and multicultural Indonesian movie productions after 1998 and the vital point of the period itself, a worthy question arises: what is the characteristic of movie audiences in Indonesia after 1998, especially for those who watch movies with multicultural issues? It is critical since, as what has been explained, many changes have taken place in the culture after the period, and although some research has been conducted regarding Indonesian film audience, such as in Wibawa et al. (2016), Astini (2014), and Ferry (2016), those focusing on the shift after 1998 has not been found yet. Does the post-1998 situation affect the reception towards multicultural issues in a movie? Therefore, this study aims to open further studies of the characteristics of Indonesian movie audiences towards national multicultural movies after 1998 or the fall of new order regime.

For answering the question and achieving the research goal, the researcher picked movie communities in Yogyakarta focusing on multicultural movies as samples. A movie community here is mainly defined in terms of filmmaking activities despite other activities they might carry out, such as discussion, workshop, and festivals (Nugroho & Suwanto, 2013, p. 301). Understanding the movie community's perspective is essential in this case since, on the one hand, their roles as active creators and social advocates demands them to elicit and actively draw understanding of audiences' characteristics for the sake of the distribution and the movie itself (Verrelen, 2010; Martz-Mayfield & Kirk Hallahan, 2009; Knudsen, 2016), as opposed to general audiences who by default is not called for being in the quality (Messaris, 1981). On the other hand, their position as audiences enables them to experience the real condition that took place in the spectators' stands. Yogyakarta was selected because of its unique role in the national movie industry and movie literacy that is quite independent of mainstream and commercial movies centered in Jakarta. Yogyakarta is a place of many independent moviemakers (Suwanto et al., 2015).

INDONESIAN MOVIE AUDIENCES

Two of the most influential research on Indonesian Movie Audiences were conducted by Wibawa et al. (2016) and Astini (2014). Wibawa focused on demography, and, by surveying nine big cities in Indonesia demonstrated that Indonesian movie audiences generally are educated audiences and dominated by youngsters. The research then also concluded that Indonesian movies are quite famous and the names of the actress are quite impactful for deciding the film chosen. Astini, by interviewing audiences in a movie theater in Jakarta, demonstrated that audiences' intention in watching national movies can be higher despite

the low level of ethnocentrism, and that there is no connection between cultural proximity and ethnocentrism in watching intention. Those two research shows that quantitative research audiences in Indonesia have started to grow and elucidate many aspects. That research also contributes to the demography of Indonesian audiences. In addition, the question regarding culture and nationalism has been begun to be asked, but the issue of multiculturalism was not investigated.

Another important study that should be considered is the works of Heryanto (2015) concerning the battles of identity and the fluidity of Indonesian movies and the receptions after 1998. Heryanto demonstrated that Indonesian reformation era is a time where the democratization of media and limited capability of the government to control the freedom of speech faced a new wave of generations that is critical with the New Order's version of history and Indonesians who do not elicit basic and balanced education about Indonesian history. With this in mind, Heryanto pointed out that the situation of Indonesian's pop culture entangled with political tensions is complicated and cannot be framed to only one ideological standpoint; by contrast four major ideological forces, namely Javanism, Islam, Marxism and Liberalism, play a significant role in shaping the identity of Indonesian pop culture (Heryanto, 2008a). Insights from Heryanto provides direction for the research to discern Indonesian reformation coupled with the New Order's heritage.

MULTICULTURALISM AND CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

Multiculturalism

Kymlica (1995) explained that the conditions of multiculturalism are feeling of diversity and the acknowledgment of minority and certain ethnic groups. Consequently, in a multicultural society, tolerance will happen naturally without any force or appeal from any party. Therefore, according to Parekh (2008), multiculturalism is about diversity or differences that are culturally embedded; it is the condition of possibility to accept other kinds of disputes.

Furthermore, according to Setyaningum (2003), multiculturalism as an ideology has two dimensions, the political and cultural. Multiculturalism as a political dimension is reflected in government policies and their roles as the provider and guarantor of the distribution of unconditional social justice for equal access while, as the cultural dimension, multiculturalism is a social construction. It tells people to see the diversity of collective identities in mutual social relationships and to understand unequal elements within each collective identity that triggers possible conflict.

Similarly, Nugroho (2011) explained multiculturalism is both an ideology or understanding and an approach offering cultural paradigm to understand real differences in the world. However, multiculturalism is not a worldview equating local truths. Conversely, it helps excluded parties to establish mutual respects for plurality, to create peace and prosperity, which can be enjoyed by all humankind. In addition to its distinction, Nugroho (2011, p. 6) also described five types of multiculturalism, namely:

1. Multiculturalism isolationist: refers to a vision of society as a place for different cultural groups living independently and interacting minimally as a necessary condition for living together.
2. Accommodative multiculturalism: refers to a vision of a society based on a dominant culture with appropriate adjustments and arrangements to the cultural needs of minorities.

3. Independent multiculturalism: refers to a vision of a society where large cultural groups and dominant cultures aim to pursue independent and equal life within an acceptable collective political framework.
4. Critical or interactive multiculturalism: refers to a vision of society as a place where creating a collective culture that reflects and recognizes their different perspectives takes the priority compared to having an independent life as certain cultural groups.
5. Cosmopolitan multiculturalism: refers to a vision of a society breaking social bonds and opens opportunities for individuals who are untied to specific cultures to engage freely in intercultural experiments and develop their own culture.

Finally, another worthy distinction to note is that multiculturalism as a noun refers to a doctrine based on the belief in the existence and importance of appreciation and recognition of cultural diversity while 'multicultural' as an adjective refers to a kind of society that consists of a wide variety of cultural groups. Therefore, multiculturalism can also be understood as an alternative social doctrine to assimilation as another idea of unity. Multiculturalism requires a politics of recognition of the rights of citizens and the cultural identity of ethnic minority groups, and an affirmation of the value of 'cultural diversity' (Putranto, 2011).

Turning to the problem of multiculturalism and cultural differences, some studies are found to be critical for the research. First, a study by Haslina et al. (2018) tried to investigate the adjustment of expatriates in the academic field by focusing on the relationships between multicultural personality skills and the academic expatriates' personal, professional and social adjustment by utilizing the multicultural personality scale (MPQ). The research shows that that open-mindedness and flexibility are significantly connected to the expatriates' adjustment, while cultural empathy, emotional stability, and flexibility are significantly related to social adjustment. The finding is essential for the research since engagement among different multicultural tradition is possible through personal adjustment and the significance of social influence for reaching the level although it does not explicitly talk about movies or media. Research with the same spirit is also vital to the discussion, namely a study conducted by Latiffah (2015) concerning Indonesian graduate students in Malaysia in maintaining their cultural identities while reconciling multiculturalism. The study mentioned is significant for this research as it stated that differences in culture can actually help affirm identity and not *vice versa*. This was said to happen when there is proper communication and adaptation.

Multiculturalism in the Media

With regards to multiculturalism in media, three research are significant to be elaborated here. First, a study of Damayanti (2011) pointing out that, by examining *3 Hati 2 Dunia 1 Cinta*, an Indonesian movie launched in 2010, the possibility for the audience to pick a role in the interpretation process is opened, specifically an interpretation of cultural practice via movies narration. Meanwhile, Sukmono (2018b) demonstrated that minority voices have started to be enunciated through movies by analyzing Indonesian movies 'Soegija', a catholic leader that plays a significant role in Indonesian independence.

Both studies signify the political aims of the movies and the topics picked to endeavor multicultural transformation in the society. However, that aim should not be exaggerated since as depicted by the analysis of the film “Anak Mami” (Badrul Redzuan, 2017), which insinuate that despite the political framework that might lead a movie to political considerations, more-in-depth examination should be taken into account to balance and reveal the real motive of the movies that might not be political. “Anak Mami” is an example on how cultural differences played in the movie is not propaganda pro-Melayu to Jawi Successors in Malaysia.

All published writings above convey how multicultural problems in society and the media are significantly involved, and, from those researches, gaps that have not been studied by other researchers is found, namely the pattern of audience's understanding towards Indonesian movies that contain multicultural issues in post-1998.

Movie as Social Text and Culture

Considering the public's reliance on the development and variety of entertainment media, claiming that a movie is a medium that can represent and describe the social condition of a particular era is not an exaggeration. As exposed by Noviani (2011), a movie is a popular entertainment media which is increasingly demanded by the general public. Moreover, a movie is a social document that records and talks about the dynamics of people's lives at the time the movie is produced. It can be said that the images and narratives of a movie are significant windows to discern and understand certain social realities. This statement was supported by Hall, as cited in Noviani (2011, p. 43) stating that the media is an essential site in reproducing and transforming ideologies. Reproduced contents in movies reflect what reality looks like and how the ideology works. It is the reason for which movies are understood as an essential entry point to understanding social issues and changes happening in society.

Apart from its role as a social text for grasping changes in society, a movie has a function as a social archive catching the spirit of a society in a particular era. Krucauer, as cited in Imanjaya (2006, p. 30), states that generally the technique of writing story content and movie development of a nation can only be wholly assimilated if the actual psychological pattern of the nation is discovered. In other words, understanding nations' psychological models and socio-cultural development of the nation are essential to understanding the evolution of Indonesian movie. This explanation shows how movies take a significant role in the development of a nation. It is because each historical event or phenomena that happened in that era is archived systematically through film, indicating that the progress of movies must always be monitored so as not to vanish and disappear.

Also, a movie is not limited to a specific age group, just like education (as a whole) and to people who can read, such as print media. Unlike all traditional art forms, as reflected by Sen (2013, p. 265), movies are not limited to specific regions and language groups. Movies cannot even be limited to people who pay for movie tickets. It appears that a movie is not for certain circles. When a movie has been published, everyone has the opportunity to watch and interpret the movie, whether he is educated, unable to read, or in a particular age group. Everyone can enjoy this work of art.

METHODOLOGY

This study tries to discern how audiences read a multicultural movie through audience research. A study of the audience puts human experience as the center of the investigation. Researching media and cultural audiences make it possible to investigate the social benefits of the press. By analyzing how texts are accepted, the impact, effects, and influences of the media will be understood. Audience research also allows us to examine what people obtained from the media, such as activities and products they like (and do not like), and why (Stokes, 2003, p. 148). In a complete way audience research endeavor to: “uncovers and displays various aspects of the cinema experience from the recipients' perspective. It seeks to uncover the cognitive apparatus employed by moviegoers in such situations as the initial motivational impetus for movie going” (Austin, 1983, p. 41).

In this study, the participants who are members of the movie communities in Yogyakarta were interviewed. Movie community here is defined from the activity focusing in film making. Therefore, the movie community which only conducting the non-production activity, such as discussion and screening, is excluded. The communities of filmmakers were chosen since. Presumably they have a more systematize understanding of movies and the audiences for distribution purpose, especially with multicultural content, than the typical audience who are not part of a movie community (Verrelen, 2010; Martz-Mayfield & Kirk Hallahan, 2009; Knudsen, 2016).

The interviews were conducted with five representatives from movie communities in Yogyakarta: Lidya Noviani from the *Paguyuban Movie Maker*, Bambang K.M (Ipung) from *Lajau Tanjap* film, Agni Tirta from *Belantara Film*, Triyanto from *Sangit Citra film*, and Riyanto from *Lookout Pictures*.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Overall, the result presented below showed that there are three changes in Indonesian characteristic toward multicultural movies namely euphoric, open, and limited. Euphoric means local audiences are beginning to favor multicultural themes in their watching lists; open means that audiences are starting to accept various multicultural issues, especially related to identities, and, finally, limited means audiences' references are mostly determined by theater schedules and insignificantly by alternative spaces. This transformation mainly took place because of political changes after the reformation. The end of New Order regime enables many movie audiences to engage with broader understanding and choices of diversity in a movie although at the same time, because of an infrastructural problem, it was more concentrated to a specific group of people that can only access the film.

Euphoric

The Indonesian movie industry has experienced a remarkable development after 1998. Not only did it happen in terms of the numbers of the movies produced but also in terms of variety of themes. New laws on how Indonesian people can express their thought seemingly influenced how movies are created and received. In the mainstream lines, some sensitive themes in the previous regime, especially regarding the struggle of minority groups, such as about Chinese (*Tanda Tanya* (2011), Communists (*Gie* (2005)), and Catholic (*Soegija* (2014))), were filmed quite massively. Likewise, the trend grew quite significantly in the independent movies that produced many multiculturalism movies. In general, more than 67 movies had

been produced since 1998 to 2017, and some of them obtain a remarkable number of audiences.

Regarding this issue, Triyanto discerned that the acceptance and condition of multicultural movies in post-1998 stemmed from changes in the political tension that is far less repressive than before. He explains in detail:

I think in post-1998, after the new order regime, there is such euphoria in democracy. Everyone in all field dares to do something according to their field of expertise. Movies' production is one example. For me, "Gie" is a movie that dares to expose certain symbols which are prohibited after the new order such as a sickle and hammer. Well, then, the audiences have begun to get used to watching something different, that tends to give more freedom, in post 98. In the past, if, for example, we made an FGD like this, the military will definitely visit us and ask: "*Kowe ngomongke opo*" (What are you talking about?), even for such a small forum. In the New Order era, it was a problem. The euphoria then appeared after that, and, unfortunately, some are not wise in using the freedom (Triyanto, March 09, 2017).

Triyanto's view shows that people are beginning to be interested with multicultural movies because of the new freedom they gained. It is not surprising considering that some limitation was applied in the New Order regime. Sen (2013) demonstrated that many films, especially that is sensitive for the administration, such as communism, were directed, and censored. Probably, with the advent of the new era, as Triyanto continued, the tendency to view other perspectives towards cultures, identity, and history as displayed with this type of movies is proliferated in the moviegoers in general, especially for youngsters. It cannot be set aside that, however, in case of mainstream movies, other factors, such as the name of actors and director, played a significant role in making multicultural movies, including *Tanda Tanya* and *Gie*, more popular (Sukmono, 2018a).

On the other hand, it is also striking that, different from mainstream movies that achieve success in popularity, Triyanto highlighted that despite the upward tendency experienced by this type of movies in terms of number and variety of themes, multicultural movies, especially that try to represent minority group and come from independent filmmaker, were types of movies which were rarely sold out. These groups did not own the power to distribute their movies and, as done by mainstream movies, pick recognized actors. Their scope consequently was limited and the reason they still endeavor to make and distribute multicultural movies is because of their idealism. Triyanto contended that movie makers in Indonesia dared to rattle, to show that multicultural reality exists in Indonesia through visually moving pictures. It is the reason movie makers are still producing it despite its low potential in making the big bucks.

Another reason for which only some movies that gain significant success is that not all multicultural themes is appealing for Indonesian moviegoers. Agni, from *Belantara Film*, pointed out that perspective of Indonesian multicultural movies was still Jakarta-centric so that diversity issues that are not stemmed by discourse in Jakarta and politically populist, like radical Islam and other five religions and Chinese, would struggle to be wide-spread. It is why some movies that explore local tribes and ethnic in Kalimantan are not celebrated as an issue regarding, for example, the relation between Islam and Christian.

Another informant Ipung explained that Multicultural movies have potentials, and it had been begun to make profits. As the chairman of the movie maker society, he elaborated that the quality of local movies that promote diversity was quite good. On the contrary, as highlighted before, sometimes when these movies entered the Major Labels, the market demands, dictates, and eliminate the essence of the movie. Likewise, concerning the production of multicultural movies, Agni as the representatives of *Belantara* community explained that minority group exposed was perceived as an object. It is one of the weaknesses of multicultural movies in Indonesia and it is not the first time happen. Heryanto (2015) on his investigation on films that were adapted from famous novels *Ayat-ayat Cinta* and *Perempuan Berkalung Sorban* also demonstrated that many original Islamic elements in the original works is changed and transformed to be more popular because of the producer or label's pressure.

Based on the discussion above, Indonesian audiences appear to be only in the level of euphoric and celebrating rather than critical. Despite the growing number of multicultural movies produced and different political condition, the favorite film was mostly determined by the closeness of issue and the name of the celebrities, or Jakarta-centric. It then answers for which although to some extent, Indonesian audiences are more prepared to enjoy multicultural movies, the culture of watching is called for some improvements.

Readiness

Diversity or, broader, multiculturalism in Indonesia is a social capital. With population amounting to around 260 million, Indonesia consists of more than 300 ethnicities, six major primary world religions, and hundreds of Indigenous religions, not to mention the number of languages. Considering this fact, it implies that Indonesian people had been adapted to diversity. Even though, Hilmy, as cited in Mahfud (2014, p. 78), contends that "cultural diversity has contributed greatly to the emergence of tensions and conflicts" and "would inevitably be counterproductive to establish peaceful, harmonious, and tolerant order of life of a nation," generally Indonesian people are quite successful in keeping the harmony and being tolerant to each other. Reflecting from their past, all participants agreed that most of the people in the country were quite capable of safeguarding the multiculturalism and had gotten used to diversity. Therefore, they believe that Indonesian moviegoers are ready to watch multicultural movies.

For example, Ipung, a participant from *Lajau Tanjap* movie community, says that, when he was in elementary school, he heard his teacher explained the large numbers of Indonesian islands containing various culture and art. It makes this participant who is also the chairman of the Indonesian movie maker society insists that the more tribes, race, ethnicity, and religion Indonesia nurture, the more Indonesia becomes fulfilled and beautiful. Issues regarding diversity, therefore, are quite well-known and inherited by Indonesian people. Another interesting example is Lidya, a member of *Paguyuban Film Maker*, telling that Indonesia had been living with diversity peacefully and harmoniously. She said:

When I see around, I do not have any problem with diversity. Everyone appreciate and respect other religious practice, although they are different from him. Generally speaking, Indonesia is good. However, people are easily irritated when political tension rises or when religion is used for specific

pragmatic and practical purposes related to power. It is the reason for which some Christians will say, "why there are Muslims like this?" On some occasions, we should admit it, although some are not. Overall, Indonesia is comfortable with its diversity. Just please do not spoil it (Lidya, March 09, 2017).

These reflections suggest that Indonesian audiences would have no problem in perceiving diversity in a movie. However, for audiences before 1998, its capability in digesting some unusual features and conflicts is doubted because of strict regulations in censorship that has disabled them from watching the topics being discussed in movies. Whether that reservation is valid, is out of the scope of the research, yet the fact is that the audience in post-1998 is more ready, is quite pertinent. Triyanto argued that post-1998 audiences tended to be more prepared, and, for him, at least two factors played huge parts in this case, access to information and the increased number of movies. Broader information allowed them to gain more information regarding diversity and multiculturalism, whether locally or nationally, while the more choices of movies they had enabled them to compare more cinematic perspective.

Triyanto also added that the audiences' reception in post-1998 could not be placed into one category in terms of movie literacy. Some people tend to be more prepared, but, at the same time, others were likely to go too far, especially in interpreting the works of multicultural movies. It is different compared to pre-1998 when the audience seemed sincere in seeing a work of art, especially movies. Nevertheless, Triyanto contended that many viewers, whether watching before or after 1998, still find it difficult to accept too much cultural collision that were made by the movie makers, such as prejudice and conflict among religion and ethnicities. He explained:

For example, Hanung, a movie director, deliberately clashes sentences like "Terrorist!", "Cino Asu! (Chinese bastard!)". It will have a very different effect on different life experience. The director and screenwriter, as well as the producer, must be observant, whether this movie will be offensive or not. As a matter of fact, movies with possible extreme collisions have not been accepted well by the audience yet (Triyanto, March 09, 2017).

Likewise, Lidya also expressed a similar idea. Although they were quite confident with audience capability in discussing variety and status of a multicultural movie as an artifact, she was quite reluctant when some specific issue that is religion is put into the table:

Interestingly, if we say that movie is a cultural artifact that transmits a message, I think it is a good thing. For example, a movie with a multicultural theme reminds the audience to reflect that we are different. So what's wrong with that? Just accept it, just enjoy the differences. No need to argue or fight. Unless you want to argue about religion, I feel multicultural movies are interesting. Although people watching them are few, those who watch can spread the (spirit of) multiculturalism (Lidya, March 09, 2017).

Concerning this issue, Triyanto deems that, in watching or interpreting a multicultural movie, there are two crucial aspects: life experience and subjectivity. Their perspective about a movie depends on the life experience of the audience, where they were raised, in what environment, and who they interact with. Then, this representative of *Sangit Citra* film community sees this audience's subjectivity as a part of how audiences perceive a movie, namely about whether he understands the issue in the movie. Similarly, Ipung asserts that audiences would bring different levels of experience and education when entering a theater, and will not watch a movie with an empty mind. There must be values that the audience take with them when watching a movie.

In light of that, it is indicative of positing that the value or life experience that they hold is mainly influenced by the policy of the New Order regime, ruling out topic regarding SARA. It is for which some inter-religious or ethnic clashes showed in the multicultural movies were difficult to be accepted. Unfortunately, the exact values and subjectivity that Indonesian viewers have were not continued further by the informants. Based on the explanation above, it appears that although more people are watching and seem to be ready to enjoy multicultural movies, their levels in tolerating diversity and cinematic scenes in a multicultural movie is varied and might still be influenced by the understanding planted in the previous era. Concerning this, access to infrastructures seems to be a significant indicator in determining the level of tolerance in multicultural movies.

Exclusive

Infrastructures play a significant role in deciding the level of literacy in a country. Type of facilities determine who watched the movies and how they interpret it. Furthermore, in its report on screening literacy, Europe Commission (2012) pointed out how infrastructure in education could provide a better understanding of consuming a movie for their members. Indirectly, it was also demonstrated by Cohen and Bhatt (2012) that infrastructure is an extremely critical support for raising awareness of literacy.

Consistent with the importance of infrastructure on literacy, Agni emphasized how current movie audiences tend to be exclusive, and this positively affects audience reception. He told the researcher how before 1998, it was common for people to casually go to the movies. After 1998, it changed, and the trend became exclusive. He opined that this is related to the infrastructure and the form of the theatre. In the past, cinemas were cheap and it was believed to have allowed a lot of people to frequently patronize it. However, after 1998, with the increased number of mainstream cinema, such as XXI and Cinemax, access to the movie theater was limited and prohibitive for some people with lower income. He said:

Before 1998, watching (movies) is something common. I still remember the movie *Tutur Tinular* was shown in *Temanggung*. The audiences were the villagers. People came flocking. The theater provided about 50 seats, but 100 people showed up. The audience brought their wooden chairs from home. Movies were celebrated as easy as that. After 1998, watching the movie became an exclusive activity. In fact, for me, it should not be private (Agni, March 09, 2017).

Agni's reservation on the place for screening movies was also responded by Riyanto highlighting the lack of alternative spaces to show multicultural movies:

The problem of multicultural movies is that they can only be viewed by a small number of audiences in certain areas. So, the spaces to show these alternative movies that are lacking. How can the community and audiences that are not from the city watch the movies? (...) The problem is lack of space. (...) I think facilities for showing movies in the villages to the broader audience are still lacking (Riyanto, March 09, 2017).

Riyanto's response is critical for the research. It justifies how infrastructures lead audiences of multicultural movies to be concentrated on city-based location and amenities. In Indonesia, the problem regarding watching a movie, especially multicultural movies, lies in the facilities provided. Consequently, many potential audiences, mostly villagers, cannot watch the movies. Riyanto then was quite representative when he argued that the problem is not as to whether people can accept the multicultural film, but people can start to watch it. By the same token, Agni also highlighted that the distribution of movies containing minority issues was not optimal, and they tended to be given fewer facilities:

A few months ago, I watched movies, both short fiction, and documentary, with minority themes, starting with an issue on sexual violence in Timor-Leste to the transmigrant population in Aceh. As I said, the movies are positive because problems in Indonesia are varied. However, the distribution of movies containing minority-themes is not easily accessible nor enjoyed by people throughout Indonesia. In fact, they are watched by educated people or audiences that actively look for alternative movies only. It should be more balanced. When the minority's movies made by non-Javanese Indonesians are growing, the infrastructure should support this (Agni, March 09, 2017).

Quite different, but with a similar intention, Triyanto explain that Indonesian audiences are divided into three types: television, theater, and alternative viewers. Against that background, he stated that multicultural movies are widely watched and accepted by some theaters and alternative viewers but not for television. The most acceptable reason for this probably is that multicultural movies is not commercialised for broader audiences and sometimes contain a sensitive issue. It is different from the theater and alternative audiences that initially have been designed for specific viewers so that they are freely in giving topics. Unfortunately, more in-depth explanation regarding these types of audiences cannot be given by Triyanto.

In tackling the problem of discrepancy between city and country dweller in digesting multicultural issues, Ipung, suggests that the government and the community can begin by improving the quality of education on engagement with the media, especially, in this case, movies. Public should be more aware that movies can at times include unusual scenes pertaining to cultural diversity.

Ideally, there should be an education for watching movies, starting from the society. (...) Producers, directors, and screenwriters must learn to understand which parts of the community they are targeting. In the same time, the audiences (knowledge on movies) should be upgraded. Eventually, all sides will meet in the middle. (...) Movies and audiences need each other (Bambang K. M., March 09, 2017).

Additionally, Lidya believes that the culture of watching movies is as important as reading culture. She said that multicultural movies are more suitable if they are played in alternative show houses which allows audiences to have discussions after it is aired.

Maybe we should improve our culture of watching movies, just like improving our reading culture. (...) it is also possible and better for playing more multicultural movies in alternative screenings which can be discussed. When they are about to watch, they bring their respective background and understanding to grasp the movie. However, in the discussion, we can add and make, for example, I watch a movie, and then I get a better understanding of multiculturalism which prompted the movie makers to produce the movies (Lidya, March 09, 2017).

In light of the informant's understanding, it is quite clear that exclusivity in watching multicultural movies did appear and it affected differences in movie literacy of some group of people. The distribution of facilities to view movies mostly determines the reason for this. As a result, many people who are economically challenged or have a geographical barrier cannot consume this type of movies as opposed to city dwellers. It is consistent with Wibawa et al. (2016) who found that Indonesian audiences are mostly educated and city dwellers that are following the trend. Movie literacy then is not merely about readiness in watching a multicultural movie but also the ability to enjoy it. The government then should take a big part in reducing the gap. To summarize, below is the scheme regarding three features found in the research:

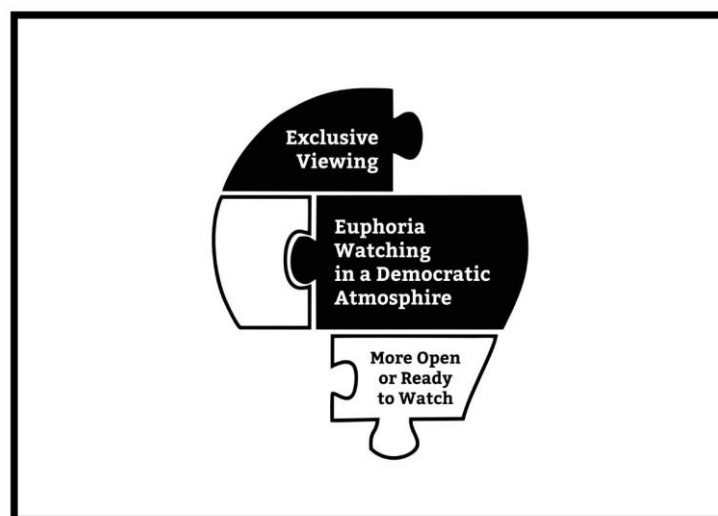


Figure 1: Characteristics of multicultural movie audience in Indonesia

Implication

Three findings regarding Indonesian movie audiences' characteristics towards multicultural film were found in the research, namely euphoric, readiness, and exclusive. The results might contribute to the discourse of Indonesian Movie Audiences, especially regarding multicultural movies, in two ways. First, the current Indonesian movie audience is, at some point, inescapable with the cultural policies that the New Order Regime made. Although these findings have been shown by some researchers, such as Heryanto (2008ab, 2015) and Sen (2013), and the research does corroborate the studies mentioned, what is new in here is pointing that New Order regime also contributes to the existing condition with their unified concept of culture of tolerance by exposing the harmony of Indonesia culture. Therefore, some conflict may still appear on multicultural movies, audiences are more prepared to view these sensitive issues. Secondly, by depicting the problem of exclusivity tainting modern Indonesian movie audiences, the research contributes to the understanding that the question of infrastructure affects the level of movie literacy, reception toward movie genres (multiculturalism), and the group of people who watch the movies. Concentration in the high-level of cinematic infrastructure and the issue of diversity that is centered mostly from the Jakarta, drive multicultural issues only to be enjoyed by some people and restricted to populist topics. This historical changes and significance, as well as the problem occurring from infrastructure, are rarely found in the quantitative research, such as in Wibawa (2016) and Astini (2014). Although the scope's intensification is necessary, the research is instructive enough to point out the unique changes in the culture of watching multicultural movies after 1998 in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

Although it is too early to draw a significant conclusion, some prominent pattern seems to be emerging concerning audiences' characteristic towards multicultural movies in post-1998. First, it appears that audiences in Indonesia are not completely strange and far from general multicultural issues despite the fact it might occur for specific problems that need cinematic competencies to grasp it utterly. Consequently, coupled with the advent of technologies and access to a broader understanding, Indonesian spectators have been likely to be prepared to watch multicultural movies despite some discussion that might happen because of different level of literacy. Secondly, the growing number of multicultural movies, whether coming from mainstream production house or independent, demonstrate that interest in consuming multicultural issue through movies have started to grow and be more euphoric. The ground for this is mainly stemming from the new political tension that is not as repressive as the previous regime and needs in echoing minority voices. Thirdly, owing to the infrastructure, multicultural movies is more concentrated in the paid cinema and alternative location in the city or town with significant watching culture and leave villagers rarely untouched to perceive and discuss the issues properly, making it more exclusive than before.

The limitation of the study lies in the scope of the informants. It only circumspect on some movie communities in Yogyakarta and leave other perspectives like in Jakarta as the place of mainstream movies. Also, the research did not verify the assumption to broader audiences via quantitative analysis. More studies are needed about other communities' opinion on audience characteristics and quantitative check to the audience itself. Another limitation is in detail regarding specific stereotypes and point of views that hold by the

audiences before the 1998 period. By picking more specified informants and historical analysis, the answer can be obtained in greater detail. The study then has corroborated theory regarding transformation on the audience and cinematic tradition in Indonesia after 1998 and at the same time broadens the scope into the spectator of multicultural movies. Some relations that happen in other fields because of the downfall of the New Order regime appeared to take place in the object study.

BIODATA

Filosa Gita Sukmono, is a lecturer at Communication Department, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY) and Editor in Chief of Jurnal Komunikator UMY. Filosa is involved in research related to Media studies, Film Studies, and multicultural issues. Email: filosa2009@gmail.com

Atwar Bajari is an associate professor in the faculty of communication at Universitas Padjajaran Bandung. Email: atwarbajari@gmail.com

Eni Maryani is an associate professor in the faculty of communication at Universitas Padjajaran Bandung. Email: enimaryani@gmail.com

Herlina Agustin is a senior lecturer in the faculty of communication at Universitas Padjajaran Bandung. Email: herlinadewiagrs@gmail.com

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